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(50 cents) to that of 3000 rupiahs ($1500).* Pigs are usually estimated in terms of moko values. Thus a pig (*fe*) is called a Piki fe, meaning it is worth a Piki moko, or in East Indies currency, about 5 rupiahs ($2.50).

Currency is invested in three primary directions: first, the purchase of a wife, which is not a single negotiation but a series of extremely complex familial exchanges that last as long as the marriage itself; second, a series of burial feasts that may drag on for a generation or two before the series is completed; third, the building of the lineage houses, entailing financial elaborations that may take several years and delay the completion of the dwelling far beyond the actual building time.

There are many kinds of smaller investments in which flesh food such as pigs and goats is used; most frequently chickens suffice. Such outlays are made as sacrifices on several occasions: when the village guardian spirit (*alemat*) is snared and dragged into the carving erected for it; when any one of a whole host of personal familiars is placated;

* These mokos are shaped like hourglasses. Actually, *moko* is not the Alorese word but the most widely used Malay term. The mokos are not of local manufacture; they were formerly imported from Java by Makassarese traders who exchanged them for goods. Since importation of the drums stopped half a century ago, the supply is no longer adequate and their value is rising. A government census taken some twenty years ago reported the presence of twenty thousand mokos throughout the island.

The natives have assigned to each of the various categories of mokos a value in rupiahs, the monetary unit of the Netherlands East Indies. For readers who may be interested in estimating the worth of the mokos named in this book, a list of the categories and their assigned values is given here. Rupiahs were maintained at the same exchange rates as Holland guilders (florins). The currency values when given in dollars have been translated at the rate of two rupiahs to a dollar. Monetary values for mokos became stabilized in the early 1930's, when money was about twice as cheap as it was in 1938. Therefore, to get the cash price of a moko in 1938 it would be necessary to halve the listed worth.

Moko	*Rupiahs*	*Dollars*	*Moko*	*Rupiahs*	*Dollars*
Lasingada	1	.50	Kolmala	13	6.50
Balaka	2	1.00	Hawanaka	15	7.50
Fanda	2 1/2	1.25	Yekaning	25	12.50
Kabali	3	1.50	Fahawa	30	15.00
Piki	5	2.50	Aimala	65	32.50
Tawainnua	5	2.50	Afuipa	70	35.00
Hiekbui	6	3.00	Makassar	130	and up
Tamania	8	4.00	Djawa	500	and up
Mastagawuk	10	5.00	Ikiira	2000	and up

This list is incomplete, and from the Kolmala on, the values are only approximate. There are many subdivisions of these higher bracket categories and considerable variation in prices given by informants. The sequence of relative values, however, is accurate.

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782 when gardens are cleared, planted, and harvested and the good will of the souls of their previous cultivators must be solicited; and when sacred lineage hearths (*tse ara*) are "fed" at the time of harvesting the new corn crop. At such times it is the men who contribute the flesh food and who officiate. Women contribute rice or corn, which is supplementary in importance but not in bulk.

937 If an Atimelang man plays with gusto the financial role his culture assigns him, the major part of his time will be taken up with the manipulation of these three types of investments. Concepts of profit, interest, credit, and reciprocity are all present, and since currencies are not strictly standardized in value sequences and in commensurability, there is ample play in the system for endless bargaining. In addition, debts are [826] rarely paid except under the pressure of dunning. It is quite evident that a man in the financial swim will have to devote most of his time to negotiations.

442 The elaborate and interesting economic system of Atimelang—as well as most of the other aspects of the culture briefly described in this chapter—will be discussed again and in more detail in the course of this volume, but for the moment the following summary will do. Subsistence economy is in the hands of the women and gives them real power and status, which are not stressed in the ideological system. The men are primarily responsible for financial dealings, which are the honorific occupation of the society. The divorce between subsistence and finance is not so complete as the ownership of property on a sex basis would indicate, nor is labor in either of these realms so divorced in practice as it is in theory. Many men are passionate horticulturalists and many women have financial skills. No onus is attached to preoccupation with the economic function of the other sex; in fact, it is rather admired as a supplementary skill.

771 In the realm of religion sacrifice is the chief form of worship. Using the term *worship* in this sense may be misleading because it gives a connotation of sacredness and awe that does not exist. Prayer is to all intents and purposes nonexistent; the nearest approach to it is a rare type of invocation (*ahang*). Divination in five or six major forms is used frequently.

774 All individuals have personal familiars that they have inherited from
787 parents and grandparents or have acquired themselves through some
[826] visionary experience. The inheritance of these personal familiars is not rigorous or exclusively in the patrilineal line, so that new ones are constantly being imported by women who marry into the Five Villages. The prevalence of fevers, especially malaria, which is endemic, may

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account for some of the "visions" leading to individual acquisition of personal spirits. These spirits are of many different types. Loku and tinang are the commonest inspirational familiars of seers. Ia-wari (literally means moon-sun; also called ainala) are inherited and are usually nonpersonal. They serve in a variety of "good fortune" capacities. Nets are primarily wealth-bringing spirits and are associated with the sea, frequently manifesting themselves as fish, crabs, crayfish, and eels. One person's familiar may be another person's evil spirit (*kari*, a generic term).

The whole countryside is populated with *gemii kori* whose good or evil influence depends upon the personal relationship established with them. They are all reasonably well known within a radius of two to four miles and are called by personal human names, usually paired. These couples are either siblings or spouses. They may be represented by carvings all of one type, a crocodile-like figure called naga in Malay. These carvings may be erected on a pole, placed on a platform-like altar, or kept in the loft of a small shed.

There are also "Good Beings" (*nala kang*, which literally means something good) associated with either the sea or the sky and envisaged in human form. Persons who have disappeared mysteriously or, in rare instances, children who have been lost may be invested with the qualities of Good Beings. The bulk of what the Atimelanger considers his mythology deals with such supernaturals, who are sometimes thought to be lineage ancestors. There are many contemporary anecdotes of prophets who predicted the imminent advent of Good Beings. The disappearance of disease and of death and the financial obligations accompanying it are usually part of such prophecies. This whole concept will undoubtedly become the center of revivalistic cults when Alorese culture crumbles as it inevitably will under the impact of foreign colonization.

There is also the village guardian spirit (*alemai*), a being whose attributes are vague and confused but who is connected somehow with the dark area in the Milky Way and whose presence and good will insure crops and wealth for the village. This spirit is often equated with a vaguely conceived supreme being called Lahatala, which is probably a word of Mohammedan origin, and with the Christian God, called by the Malay term *Tuan Allah*. It is represented by a large crocodile-like carving similar to the smaller ones made for all kinds of personal familiars. The village guardian should receive sacrifices every year or two—at which times an expert is called to search him out where he lurks somewhere underground near a dance place and drag him to the carving where he is to be fed. The responsibility for this ceremony

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rests with the eldest male of the founding lineage of the village, but the whole community usually assists. There may be two guardian spirits in a village, one at the head and one at the tail of the community.

Witchcraft, poisoning, magical curses, oaths, and ordeals are all present in Atimelang religion, but are undeveloped or unstressed.

Sacred hearths of various types (*ara foka*, *ue ara*, *mani ara*, *je ara*, *kuya ara*) belong to lineages and are kept in the lineage house when it exists. They are simply four pieces of wood like those that form the frame of the ordinary household hearths. The sacred hearths should be fed once a year. As food is offered the hearth, the lineage ancestors, in so far as they are known, are named. The sacrifices are usually made in February or March when the new corn crop is about to be harvested. The owner of the hearth should abstain from a varying series of foods prior to the sacrifice.

At the season when the hearths are being fed, there are also four minor village ceremonies whose general function is to assure plentiful crops. They are given in the course of two months, February and March, and are in order of performance: Hopuina (spit on it), Yetok (water pours), Bol (strike), and Ading (also called Kuya, both of which are untranslatable). Responsibilities for certain duties in these ceremonies descend in the male line.

Connected with some of these ceremonies and with the feeding of certain hearths are quiet, or taboo (*si*), periods, during which vigorous work, shouting, and quarreling may not take place. Any breach requires a gift to the owner of the ceremony by way of atonement. Usually these taboo periods last only one day but the most important of them lasts four days and comes at the end of the dry season just before the men of the Five Villages set out for the one communal hunt of the year. During the hunt, which is primarily for wild pig, large grass fires are set. Men stay at special hunting camps on the edge of uncultivated grasslands while the women remain quietly at leisure in the home village.

There are also more or less elaborate garden sacrifices to the souls of former cultivators of the site. If the site is a new one, sacrifices are made to the *genius loci*, which has been disturbed. The number and size of the sacrifices depend on whether the garden (*uni*) is a small one frequently used and planted to corn, or a large field (*giming*) at some distance from the village and usually reserved for rice.

Death feasts, although largely financial and closely allied with prestige, may also be considered part of the religious ritual, since their ultimate objective is to dismiss the souls of the dead from the vicinity of the village. During the first ten days after death a series of obligations

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A village guardian spirit (*talenai*) to which a pig and rice have just been sacrificed.

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Fanumi Longbair carves a village guardian spirit figure.

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556 my affinal kin and I shall give you this pig.' So his lineal kin would pay
426 his bride-price for him."

183 In discussing this conversation later, Fantan remarked, "Yes, a man here says he is rich, but all he does is to go around and cheat people. He pulls in their gongs and mokos and promises to pay for them when other debts of his are settled, but he only deceives us. People thought my kinsman Lanmani was poor because he did not have a lot of outstanding debts."

556 Supporting this type of personal expression of dissatisfaction and
● 782 difficulty with financial affairs is another more formalized expression. Any large accumulation of gongs and mokos, such as the one described for the tunukun's feast, is considered dangerous. Young children are chased away from it, and adults must be protected by throwing away one of the pieces of smaller value to the wealth-bringing spirits. The piece is tossed by the owner into the brush, where boys and young men fight for it. This is another permitted opportunity for aggression in relation to wealth. Should this precaution or some similar magical one
[788] be omitted, the owner of the wealth will fall sick and die within a day.

The danger associated with excessive wealth is present also when a rice crop is unusually large, when a carabao is slaughtered, or when many wild pigs have been shot on the communal hunt at the end of the dry season. Again, illness can be avoided only by throwing away a small
[766] part as a sacrifice, the essence of which goes to personal or ancestral spirits who may be offended, and the substance of which is fought over by the younger and less dignified males.

CONCLUSIONS

585 Obviously from the foregoing, status depends primarily on wealth,
186 but neither of these is any more secure or confidence-inspiring for the individual than were his human relationships in childhood. Status and finance on the institutional side reflect and reinforce the uncertainties involved in trusting other people; yet certain aspects of the culture reveal the need for their good will. Just as there are many positive factors in child training, so also on the institutional side there are a variety of constructive aspects within the total framework. There are the many
182 recognized avenues for expressing and draining off the very hostilities
586 engendered by the culture that tend both expressively and repressively to maintain social cohesiveness. There is always the hope and the search for desired goals, whether the goal be the nurturing mother-provider or the status-wealth hyphenation. There are always devices for forging through to such goals if one is a sufficiently self-contained and ruthless

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If the dynamics make sense about the lack of arrests for internal-

ising aggression is correct, and if, on the other hand, society offers means, such as wealth, to externalize aggression, self-inflicted death is not likely to be a highly developed personality trend. This alone might explain the absence of institutionalized suicide. In addition, when death may result from extranormal personality states, such as occur in delirium, coma, and insanity, it becomes clear why spirit possession is an evil and why shamanistic trances and intoxication have not been selected for social emphasis.

INSANITY

Before continuing with ideas of burial and death, it may be appropriate to develop somewhat parenthetically such other data as are available on insanity. What precisely constitutes insanity in the mind of the Atimelangar is as hard to define as it is among ourselves. The history of a "crazy" woman was given on page 107ff., and it will be recalled that essentially the charge was one of prostitution. Lakamau the Simpleton was not called crazy. There was one woman, usually fairly quiet, who seemed to have hallucinations and whose chief claim to peculiarity in the minds of local people was that she would run off alone and spend the nights hidden in the fields rather than return to the house. She was considered possessed of a spirit. She and the first woman were the only two recognized by the community as insane (*lira*). In addition there were many people whose "spirits would rise in them," which meant that they had occasional attacks of hyperexcitability and about whom one said, "They are crazy," using the term in the same loose and often good-natured fashion in which we use it.

Also available were anecdotes about four other insane people no longer living. The case of Fanneni has been quoted. The other three cases were all characterized by greater destructive vigor; all were considered spirit-possessed and their destructive attacks seem to have broken out suddenly. For instance, Matingmale had worked quietly all day weeding her sister's fields. That night she suddenly began to beat her brother-in-law. She ran off, killed pigs and chickens, broke off corn, reached into a pregnant pig and pulled out the unborn young, and made obscene advances to men. People tied her up, but she broke away and continued her destructive activities. People shot her in the shoulder, but she went on, ignoring the arrow still stuck in her flesh. She tossed a small child in the air in play and continued to kill pigs and generally frighten people. She was finally bound securely.

Her father sacrificed to the spirit supposedly possessing her, and she was normal for about two months. Then she had another outburst in which she held her child upside down by its legs from the door hatch.

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775 765 involves saying their names as small quantities of food are set aside for them. Death feasts are given primarily for parents or grandparents. Such feasts, which may be precipitated by illness but nevertheless give prestige, may reproduce for the individual the positive and negative emotions that cluster around child training and are reinforced by the financial organization.

SACRIFICES

● 782 261 The motif of sacrifice or feeding occurs over and over again, not only in relation to the dead but in relation to all supernatural beings. Feeding is the chief cultural tool for symbolizing social euphoria and for placating supernatural beings. Since the experiences of individual children with respect to hunger and disciplinary relationships vary greatly, it is to be expected that in adults also attitudes toward sacrifice will vary in the "depth or shallowness of meaning in the individual's total economy." * Mangma begins his autobiography with early memories of a period of hunger, is engrossed with accounts of his gardening prowess and with details of food taboos, and finally stresses sacrifices associated with the care of his sacred hearth. Tilapada begins the story of her childhood with tales of quarrels. She interprets subsequent anxiety 824 dreams as warnings that she has not placated the proper spirits, but she continues to neglect them. One man is conscientious and regular in making food sacrifices to his tutelaries; another neglects them until illness indicates that he has angered the supernaturals.

782 153 Individual childhood experiences in respect to hunger and discipline may find modes of expression in institutionalized fields, and certain institutions are reinforced because of the personal emotional content that can be directed into them. One must be careful not to use such nexi as sacrifice and childhood experiences as exclusive causal sequences. It would be ludicrously antihistorical to say that childhood feeding habits gave rise to a system of sacrifice in Atimelang. They have merely reinforced and made significant to many individuals that widespread Indonesian custom. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that obedience was expected of children, that running away was a means of avoiding disciplinary harshness, and that children conformed against their wishes only when overwhelmed by a superior force. These are the essence of most Atimelangers' attitudes toward sacrifices and death feasts. As a rule they are offered only when the external pressure is such that it means preserving the health, prestige, or well-being of one's family.

I suggest that it would be very difficult to eradicate sacrifice so long

* Quoted from Sapir, in *Language, Culture, and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir* (Menasha, Wis.: Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, 1941).

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as its symbolic content can be so high. Any institution that may be invested with high emotional value because of patterns of child training is not one which can be lightly legislated out of existence. The implications of such relationships bear not only on the problems of the diffusion of culture and the persistence of traits, but also on applied anthropology as it is envisaged by enlightened colonial administrators. Head-hunting could be stopped almost overnight (page 131) because child training had been toward deflecting hostility into wealth manipulations rather than physical violence. Physical violence broke out only when finance failed to ease strain in interpersonal relationships. There were in addition substitutive devices at hand. Trying to eliminate sacrifice would, however, be a very different matter, and, in fact, there has been singularly little headway made by missionaries in that direction. Furthermore, Christianity with its magnification of the parental image may have failed to make inroads because paths leading in that direction had not been worn deep in the personality of the Atimelang child.

THE HEREAFTER

These speculations upon the emotional content and significance of institutions were precipitated by a discussion of the feasts necessary for the final dismissal of ghosts from the village boundary. It is really at this point that significant interest in the dead stops. Perhaps this correlates with the Atimelanger's poor memory for genealogies. When the dead are no longer potential sources of danger and when they are no longer being named in connection with sacrifices, they are lost from memory. What happens to this second soul no one could tell me; whether it rejoins the other soul in the village of the dead, below or above, no one seemed to know. In addition, there is another place where the dead are supposed to go and to live underground. This is a low, uninhabitable coral island, called Hamintuku in the Abui language, which is off the northwest point of Benleleng Bay. It is quite obvious from all this uncertain and fragmentary material that the Atimelangers are not interested in structuralizing any of these vague and contradictory speculations. There may be a rare individual who is concerned with such matters, but, if so, I failed to discover him, and he would in any case be aberrant in that respect. Again, this reinforces the argument that the Atimelangers are not concerned with speculative constructs or the nonmanifest. Even the village of the dead seems to be no more than a reflection of earthly life. It is called Sahiek, or Sehiek, and is presided over by a figure named Karfehawa (literally, Kar-pig-jaw). The location of Sahiek and the identity of Karfehawa were completely nebulous to most informants. Rilpeda came nearest to giving a coherent account.

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young corn [*matingato-steata*], sugar cane, mangoes, or cucumbers. This taboo lasts for three months, and in the fourth month I eat them again. Before eating them I feed my kuya hearth and place on it leaves of all these foods. After that I may eat. My father and older brother died about eighteen years ago, and ever since then I have kept this taboo. The kuya hearth is so called because I keep these food taboos before the Kuya feast. In this feast fire is thrown at a tree, and good crops for the coming year are requested. The kuya are spirits of all kinds of foods. They come from Piningkai [literally, "field head" or "top of the world," to the southeast in Batulolong]. These spirits stay in the sky. Mine are Kuyawa, Takatahafiki-Nalongtaiy, Tingtina-Fanfana, and Karilak-Kamaro. When I feed the kuya hearth I say, "Kuyawa, Takatahafiki-Nalongtaiy, Tingtina-Fanfana, Karilak-Kamaro, now let me eat my corn, cucumbers, squash, and mangoes and not be sick. May my thighs and my shoulders be strong. May I go running over large level places and long slopes and go straight through without stopping until sweat comes." [The rainy season is considered the season of illness. This sacrifice and supplication is made at the end of the rainy season so that the soreness and stiffness may pass.]

[At this point I tried to get him away from ethnography into personal anecdotes.] When I was still a child, a friend of mine, also called Mangma, asked me to come to his garden and help him build a house. When it was finished I asked him to come to the house I had built in my garden and roast corn. My house was made of slender bamboo. The thatched roof had collapsed, but we hunted rats, roasted corn, and ate there anyhow. At the new corn feast my friend Mangma invited me to come to fetch corn from his garden. The next day his mother cooked it for us. Then we went to my house to eat rats and corn. We said, "Now we can't play for a while, but when the corn work is finished, when it has been gathered and tied into bundles, we can play again." [Question.] This friend is dead now; he died after he married. When we grew up and married we didn't play together any more. We were no longer friends [in the sense of companions]. This friend, Mangma, was also from Karieta.

[How his mother died?] My mother's body swelled up and she died. That was about seventeen years ago. It was the year after my father and brother both died. They all died because we didn't give our Bayorka feast [part of the Tila death feast for ancestors] rapidly enough. We built the altar and didn't feed it. Then the village of Karieta burned down. We built another bayorka altar but didn't feed it. Then these three people died. I was married at the time.

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you are my child, so we can work together." When my child was sick, I didn't go out to the fields; I just stayed with her. At this time Lonmobi dug tubers and picked greens to help me. [Was your child in Atimelang at the time?] Yes, I had gone to File for beans. Wolmo [her child] returned with me and got sick. Then we went to live with Kolmani [a seeress]. Lonmobi came and stayed with us at Kolmani's house. [Kolmani was Lonmobi's mother's brother's son's wife.]

[In the midst of this Lonmi digressed to tell the interpreter that as soon as she had finished she was going to get a pig to give the chief of Atimelang, who was divorcing his second wife. The pig was wanted by the chief to feed the judges and litigants.]

Once Mailang of Folafeng litigated because Senmani stole his gong. [This was less than a year ago.] Djetmani told me to cook corn for the people. I asked where I was to get the corn, so he told me there was a bundle in his loft and to use it. So I took it up to Folafeng and pounded and cooked it to feed the litigants. [Note how rarely she spoke of partaking in feast activities.] When I finished the corn, I sat down with Lopada. She said that it would be a long time before Senmani paid and they would probably have to make another litigation, so we could go back to our garden work and do other things meanwhile. After that we came back down here to Atimelang. It was the time that Djetmani wanted to make a feast for Maliemni [his first wife]. So Djetmani went to Kafe to ask for pigs. When he came back he was sick. Lonmobi and Maleta said that Djetmani had better come live with Kolmani the Seeress to be treated by her. So we went there to stay. He vomited and sweated a lot and didn't get well fast. Then Fanseni Longhair said it was because his nera house [wealth-bringing spirit] had to be fed, so Djetmani took a hen there and fed the nera spirits. We stayed with Fanseni two days. Then I went back to stay with Kawsmani, and Djetmani went back to Maliemni, his first wife. They decided Djetmani had been poisoned, and so Maleta called Maugkari to bring a poison antidote. Maugkari went to Afalberka for the right roots. He gave them to Djetmani to drink. Then Djetmani got well. He wanted to go out. He went to battle. When he came back he stayed with Maliemni. He made the verandah for his Rolik feast and told me to go and stay with his Male House kinswoman, Tilaleti. While I was staying with Tilaleti, he came over one night and spoke with her, saying he didn't want me as a wife and I had better go away. At this time he was already staying with Falupangwan [who became his third wife]. But I remembered the rice for the feast, so the next morning I went to pound

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three meals a day is the symbol of adulthood. It is significant that food as a status symbol should be used at the time that adult sex drives and financial responsibilities first become pressing.

This situation at the end of a long series of childhood experiences probably helps to set the wife as a mother figure. The wife, like the mother, is the responsible provider of food. A high degree of identification between the parent-child and husband-wife relation is actually unconscious and valued in the culture. When older men lecture a young couple who have quarrelled, they invariably tell the young woman that she should be a mother to her husband and tell the young man that he should be a father to his wife. One of the strongest expressions of this sentiment was given by a young informant who may have made the identification a little more strongly than was customary.

> Wives are like our mothers. When we were small our mothers fed us. When we are grown our wives cook for us. If there is something good, they keep it in the pot until we come home. When we were small we slept with our mothers; when we are grown we sleep with our wives. Sometimes when we are grown we wake in the night and call our wives "mother."

The mother is definitely the provider but, as we have seen, she is an uncertain one in many cases. It is not surprising therefore to find the relationship between spouses a precarious and mistrustful one. Even though the whole weight of the masculine financial system acts to stabilize marriage, Alorese have an average of approximately 1.9 divorces apiece. This seems a high average when one considers the elaborate and cumbersome monetary negotiations involved in divorce.

So far I have been concerned with sketching briefly some of the hunger experience of childhood, the associated restrictive disciplines of adults, and the devices through which the culture somewhat negatively permits children to satisfy this basic need. There has been some indication how all of these affect human relationships. I should like to turn now to a series of institutionalized food attitudes and behavior.

The first and most striking is sacrifice, which is a matter of almost daily experience, representing practically all relationships to the supernatural. The word for sacrifice means literally "to feed," and every supernatural object is so placated. Individual and village tutelary spirits, the graves of the dead, the spirits of ancestors who have cultivated a field, wealth-bringing supernaturals, *are* all given their share of chicken blood, rice, and pig meat. Realistically enough, the offering is small and purely symbolic. The bulk of the sacrificial food is consumed by the people. In myths the sky heroes *are* always fed rice, millet, and eggs. Their revivification is achieved by pouring a pot of millet over their heads. The building of lineage houses must be accompanied by feasts at every stage of construction, and its importance is proportional to the number of pigs slaughtered in the course of building it. Newly purchased gongs or *moko*[1] must be fed. It is, in fact, difficult to find any aspect of religious and social ceremonial which does not involve "feeding." In this connection it is not without signifi-

[1] Metal kettle drums used as currency.

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ence that throughout Indonesia is the concept of man's creation from molded clay. In Atimelang this widespread motif is altered so that man is created from molded rice and corn meal; that is, man is made from food.

Also fitel, rather than native currencies, is generally considered adequate pay for labor. The guest-workers who help cultivate a large rice field, who assist in erecting a lineage house who attend memorial funeral ceremonies, or who participate in similar ceremonial activities are all fed in return for their participation. When cooperative groups are formed for work in fields, the host of the day must furnish the midday meal.

There are other attitudes toward food which are perhaps less dramatic and institutionalized, but just as telling. If women are pounding rice or corn, any kernel which falls from the mortar is carefully picked up. Children of five or six have already absorbed this attitude and are as meticulous as the adults of both sexes. A single bean left in a pod during shelling will be retrieved by children as well as adults. In clearing ground even isolated food plants will be carefully preserved. The meticulous fashion in which all food articles are saved and used does not coincide with any actual scarcity.

The natives also refer frequently to the annual "hungry period." This is the end of the dry season when there is no actual want but only less of the preferred foods. For a month or two natives depend more on cassava and sweet potatoes than on corn. Yet the culture phrases this as a period of food stress. In addition there were references to periods of famine as though they were an ever present threat. Careful inquiry revealed only two periods of shortage within the memories of people between forty and fifty. Both of these were due to factors which had disorganized the community so that for one season the fields had not been as extensively planted and as carefully weeded as is customary. There is no doubt that food, especially of the preferred sort, was scarce on these two occasions, but it was procurable by purchase in nearby communities and there is no evidence that anyone died of hunger. There is, in fact, no indication that hunger is ever necessary if a proper amount of foresight and industry has been exercised. Perhaps one of the best indications that the concern over food scarcity is of psychological origin and not realistic is that there is no land hunger. No one ever expresses poverty or wealth in terms of land, although there is actually great variation between consumption units in the number and fertility of fields owned. This is in despite a strong preoccupation with wealth as status in the culture. Data on the yield of the fields indicate that crops are good and on the whole adequate not only to feed the consumption units but also to provide surpluses for redistribution to friends.

In addition there is a singular agricultural fiction in Alor. This concerns the so-called "good years" and "bad years" which come in alternate seasons. Theory has it that there is no use planting rice fields or any outlying plots during "bad years" because rodents will eat up the crop before it can be harvested. In the "good years" there are supposed to be fewer rats and there is a chance to lay in surpluses for large feasts. The theory of alternating years of rat plagues has no basis in reality. Essentially the idea is a fiction that every other year you are the helpless victim of depredations on your food supply. As one might expect, there are